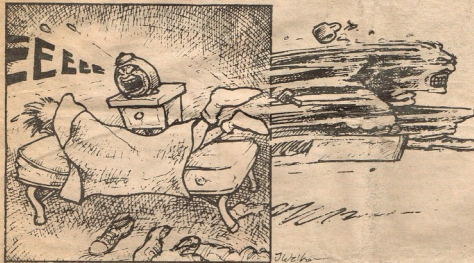


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ies in the Haight-Ashbury

creded and utopian. I am not so messianically inclined-or so delusional-as think that practical ac-  
tial goals. But I  
revolu-

Police



# The Taming of Feminism

On the way to International Women's Day in Golden Gate Park, I found myself feeling hopeful, because considering myself a feminist, I do feel a certain solidarity with other women who struggle against sexism and domination by men. At the same time, I feel alienated from many of these same women because of what the women's movement has developed into over the years. Watching the scene brought thoughts of an anti-nuke, anti-draft or any other typical rally. A large crowd of people sat passively in seats listening to famous people (leaders of the women's movement) tell us what we should do to liberate ourselves. All the speeches dealt with the fact that we should all go out into the workforce and demand the same right to be exploited as men have. Even Willie Brown told us to "dig deep into our pockets and wave our money into the air" (and deposit it into the nearest collection can) to show the rest of the country "we mean business." And in fact, he went on to say that we'll keep giving that money until we have equal rights. Apparently the idea is to buy our freedom. What a contradiction! The cry of "ERA" was made the slogan of the day and the National Organization of Women (NOW) is the group we all must join to force passage of the bill.

Behind the spectators were all the groups who could in some way connect themselves to the women's movement. Literature was plentiful, giving this or that group's ideology on "women's role in society" and the platform they had for obtaining their ideas. More than just literature were all the groups selling things. Buttons, t-shirts, books, clothes, food, etc. bombarded me as I walked through it. Women's liberation has become quite a profitable business.

And then I ran across a table set up to recruit women to "join the force behind the star"-the police force. The absurdity of it made me speechless. The idea of having more women cops as part of the answer to the end of domination by men (so that we could be dominated by women) is ridiculous. I wanted to smash up their table (as well as others) and burn them to the ground.

Sunday, I went down to the Women's Building to see what was going on there. I had written a leaflet expressing similar feelings to this article and during the break I began handing it out to people. I was quickly spotted by a "hostess" (now that "monitor" has become such a no-no word, they revert to a sexist word) and was told that I couldn't hand out leaflets. I protested, and she brought over the director who repeated the same thing. I couldn't believe they were going to keep me from letting my views be known. These same women who complain that only in a "women's space" without domination by men can we freely express ourselves, not letting me express myself. What the director told me was that I hadn't been a part of an organization who helped sponsor the event. So out the door I went when I decided to challenge her authority and not allow her to dominate me.

The women's movement today has lost any semblance of anti-authoritarianism it had 15 years ago. As a result of sexist practice within the new left in the late 60's and early 70's, women rebelled and many opted for less hierarchical forms of organization. The idea was to end domination by men, but also women. They were critical of the "system" as well as knowing the pitfalls of working within it to obtain a different society. But nowadays, many groups jump right into the bureaucracy in an effort to gain power. Be they in the traditional business world or the alternative "women's culture", little is being done to confront domination. In fact, once many women find themselves in a comfortable position, they are quite happy to either stay put or go after a position of more money and power.

Women, already in the corporate business world, acting as managers, executives, etc. are constantly complaining of how difficult it was for them to climb the corporate ladder. There's a ton of books out on how to deal with the sexist boss (and still get ahead), how to manage your money (for those who have lots of it), how to be a good executive (make the employees think you care about them), and generally how to survive in an alienated, sexist, racist world if power and prestige are what you want.

Remember poor Mary Cunningham-kicked out of Bendis Corp for allegedly sleeping with her boss and thus moving up the corporate ladder too quickly. After much publicity in the press, which brought anger from "feminists" all over the country who cried, "DISCRIMINATION!", she's now a VP for Seagram's. What is she doing there? Campaigning for all the thousands of women workers who don't have a say in the company? You can bet your life the answer is "NO!" (as if it matters anyway). She's a corporate executive, and like all corporate execs, her job is to increase profits for the company and to ensure the exploitation of the workforce.



For those women who are more "democratically" minded and think that electoral politics will bring liberation for women, I can only point out the fallacy of that. People like Bettye Chastain and Maryanne Thatcher have never worked for women's rights. In fact, as they have become leaders of governments, they don't even identify themselves as women. They impose austerity programs onto their inflation-ridden countries until supposedly the economy is able to pick itself up again. This translates into most people getting less and less so that business takes more and more.

Continued on p. 10



# Punk

It can happen to anyone, and we want everyone to know about it. A lot of people automatically assume if someone is harassed by the police, it's because they were doing something wrong. But police harassment depends on where you are, who you are, and what the cops think they can get away with at the time.

We don't just have to worry about muggers or rapists. We also have to worry about the cops. They can get away with anything, even murder, because they've got the law on their side. Few cops are going to testify against another (for harassing somebody).

And when we do get arrested and have to go to court, it costs us a lot of money to pay for everything—depositions, court costs, and lawyer's fees. But the cops have unlimited public funds at their disposal. They can have as many lawyers and investigators as they want.

Getting witnesses for police harassment is also very difficult. If the arrest occurs in a bar, there is no support from its owners, because in order to run a bar, the owners must cooperate with the police to avoid greater harassment. Who are the cops protecting? They're protecting rich people and their money.



In February, 1979, 2 women were attacked by the San Francisco Police as they were leaving Amelia's, a women's bar in the Mission District of San Francisco. In front of a large crowd of witnesses, Sue Davis and Shirley Wilson were verbally and physically abused by police officers. They were arrested without being told the charges against them and were taken to the Mission Police Station, where the abuse continued. They were then taken to the Hall of Justice, where more abuse ensued. They were eventually incarcerated overnight, still without hearing of any charges against them. Both were strip-searched repeatedly in the presence of male police officers. They were separated only upon their release the next day where they told of the charges against them: failure to identify themselves, public drunkenness, and resisting arrest. They were never allowed to call a lawyer. After they were released, they had to seek medical attention because of the violence done to them and they missed days from work. They say, "The women jailers were really bad. To see women treat us like that was really horrible. It's total bullshit, this gay recruitment program. We really had an awakening"—much of the preceding violence in which there was a statement by Sue and Shirley, whose charges have been dropped, but are still involved in a lawsuit against the Police Dept. You can reach them through their defense fund at: 1550 25th Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94122.

In the last issue of Work and Pay we described some police harassment in the Question Mark bar in the Haight-Ashbury where 7 people were subjected to unprovoked assault by the cops. At least one of the cops involved had a record of assault. All charges in the case were dropped right before the lawyers were to meet with the cops involved to pull their records.

On Thursday, April 16, it happened again at the Question Mark. A man and woman cop team broke into the bar, shined flashlights in people's eyes, harassed them for no reason, and ended up assaulting quite a few people. In the end, 3 people were arrested.

Several days later more people were beat up for carrying old fencing down Haight St. One man suffered a mild concussion for telling a cop not to call one of the women present a "cunt." There are many more untold stories of police harassment.

Police Officers Michael Gannon and Dennis McLellan recently bragged to the S.F. Examiner (2-11-81) that the answer is a community involvement anti-crime program. Their translation of this "program" is to beat up, harass, and arrest everyone who they don't like the look of.

There will be an anti-cop rally at Buena Vista Park,

at Haight and Central, on Saturday, May 23, at 11 A.M. to talk about protection from the cops.

As far as tactics of the police department go, it seems that the San Diego Police have taken a tip from the Left about "organization." "Police Decentralization Plan" headed a recent article in the Los Angeles Times. "Area stations" something New York cops have known for decades as precinct stations, is the plan. The promise is to humanize the face of cops by returning them to the neighborhood beat, increase patroling time by 40 minutes per shift, and eventually decrease costs by \$850,000 per year. Gone will be several public, baseball diamonds, but higher police presence for less money is a winning formula for city fathers anywhere.

Aside from making note of a reactionary strategem of the city-state, it is interesting to find the word "decentralized" used to describe police organization. Decentralization in a buzz-word, especially among the anti-authoritarian left. San Diego bureaucrats have learned that decentralization can mean more cop-hours for the dollar. It can even placate some confused fears about the growing violence done by cops to the citizenry they have been charged to protect.

Obviously, decentralization is an inadequate word to describe egalitarian organization. Decentralized authority will not change the nature of power and manipulation. It can only make it more palatable, for some, and for them, not for long.

Please send us any incidents of police harassment you've run up against so that we can help get the word out.

## Anarchist Picnic

Sunday, May 24th

Every year anarchists in the Bay Area get together for a picnic. Often times funds have been collected for various projects of different groups, including us with the newspaper. But it is a great time to meet alot of anti-authoritarians living here and what folks have been/are doing.

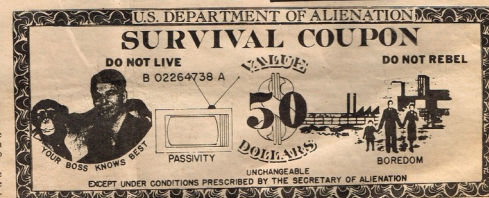
This year, it will be held in San Jose at Santa Theresa Park. Take Route 101 South to 82 South. Get off at Bernal Road and follow it straight to the park. Carpools will be leaving from the Mission Blue Cafe, 300 Precinct near Kinnery at 233-2212 and Bound Together Books, 1901 Hayes (at Ashbury), tel. 386-9870.

People intend to be there at 11 A.M.

Bring food or starve (we're not your mother).

## Mea Culpa

I would like to take this opportunity to explain a foul-up of mine in the last issue. It was when I decided to get clever at 4 A.M. the night of lay-out and I typed: "Free Goods = Free People." I had intended to convey the idea that an end to commodity society and the activity that people take to free themselves from this commodity/exchange system would then to provide the basis for their real freedom. I did not intend to imply that people = things. That is a position I'll gladly leave to the capitalists, while I heartily oppose it (as well as them). In her criticisms elsewhere, (page 11), Maxine Holt left this one out, acknowledging that it was not my intention to say people = things.

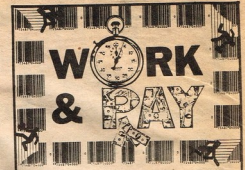


Do you experience a sort of numbness or inability to feel things strongly, either because the capacity is worn out or the defenses against it are hyperbottled as a protection from suffering?

Do psycho-physiological changes such as high blood pressure, ulcers, headaches, neuro-muscular tension syndromes or even complete losses of certain body functions afflict you?

Or are you a walking time bomb, seemingly quite well, but who will, sooner or later, completely break down, experiencing what is commonly thought of as "going crazy" or "having a nervous breakdown"?

If so, then you may be the victim of "Survival Syn-



So here's our second issue, which we're sure you've been waiting for breathlessly. Our articles span a variety of concerns. None of us agrees with every single statement of every article. But, overall, our main purpose in printing this paper is providing an outlet for anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist writers, who are generally frozen out of other media, straight or left. We hope to encourage controversy and discussion, not to provide a correct line.

Most of the articles, as you might expect, deal with the work-and-pay world. These include pieces on the domination of life by money, and shopping. Others deal with the situation in San Francisco, a city which like other cities around the world, is busy imposing a police-state and clearing out the urban core for the rich. All this while the left is trying to save a vaguely defined "community." Punk rock gets a critique we feel it needs, and several short items deal with current events ranging from Indians resisting eviction in Arizona, to an attack by autonomous rebels on the Soviet embassy in Athens. Plus, there is a short-story, a few poems, and much graphic relief.

Send us your opinions. We expect a full range so don't hold back. We welcome articles and news the media may black out or ignore.

We'd like to thank everyone who's given us encouragement in finishing this issue. Also, those who have donated money to help pay for it. The Italian Anarchists held a cema and collected \$50. Tom and Justin held a potluck dinner and collected more funds for Work & Pay. And, at the last anarchist picnic, \$46 more was collected.

We would like to be able to always distribute the paper free, so any donations help tremendously. Thanks again.

Staff and Contributors to this issue: David D., John J., Dee Zyre, Tryon, Suzy Pam, Jack Straw/Terry, Howard the Duck, Brian, Chris Winks, Bill Dollar, Laura Norder, Lora, Maxine Holt, Niko, David, Tom, Steve, Lester, Douglas Dinard, Louis Michaelson, Sue Wage, Benarise, and Carl.

Other contributors in the 1st issue of Work and Pay not mentioned were V. Ramos and Jay Kinney.

Work and Pay  
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drome." According to the Sept. 28, 1980 Los Angeles Times, Survival Syndrome afflicted the American hostages in Iran. Unlike short-term responses to captivity, Survival Syndrome is an adaptation to prolonged imprisonment.

But one does not have to be a hostage in Iran to experience this numbing destruction. The hostages are here, at work, in school, at home and in the temples. Survival Syndrome is the national temperament. We are all walking time bombs. The question is, how soon will we explode on ourselves and friends or upon those most deserving wrath of the prison here at home?



# 1% Free: Myths and Realities in the Haight-Ashbury

It all begins on the street—Haight Street. In its infrequent splendor and obvious misery. As I walk along, I encounter people standing on a corner, chatting with each other and blocking the alienated straight-line flow of "traffic." Children run down the street engaged in a mysterious game whose rules they alone know. Passers-by stop to greet each other, embrace, and go their momentarily separate ways. At such times, the street becomes a center for socializing in the fullest, most human sense of the word, a place that encourages dreams instead of stifling them.

Then, I see the chic, renovated storefronts going up, the many FOR SALE signs on various boulevards, the assorted bars that package and sell tickets to a fake hippie festival. I see the hand-painted looks in the eyes of people who abandoned their hopes long ago, the drivers with baseball bats cruising up and down in search of attractive women to hassle, the sudden hostility of those who are living out the old saying "each for himself and God against all," and, of course, I see the complacent and disinterested businessmen who drink our wine. Amidst all this, I also see the weekend tourists for whom this stage-set is being erected, and am reminded of the English aristocrats who allied their boredom with visiting Bodiam asylum on a Sunday afternoon. Just a peek at the inmates.

The street is where it all begins—but let us make sure that it doesn't end here as well.

The part of San Francisco known as the 'Haight-Ashbury' resembles a palimpsest, a manuscript on which traces of earlier, previously effaced writings can be deciphered—somewhat like a wall covered with graffiti. And just as the faded characters on a palimpsest retain more importance for the specialist than the more recent texts, so too is the Haight-Ashbury dominated by its past and by the meanings given to that past, for example, the notion that the Haight constitutes a 'community.'

In this as in any urban area, it is to be expected that merchants and politicians would use the term 'community' to conceal the real divisions and conflicts that exist and to promote in their own interests maintaining the conditions from which they profit. Why is it, then, that so many opponents of this phony neighborhood unity are so quick to invoke a mythical community in support of their position? The reason is that all myths stem from lived experience, and the myth of a Haight community, with its origins in the hippie movement of the mid-60's, is recent enough and powerful enough to exert an almost mythical effect on

even on those who did not live through that period. Memories of dreams deferred hang uneasily over the Haight, and it is tempting to imagine that their promise can only be redeemed by restoring the old aspirations as if nothing has changed over the years. But while it is preferable that there be some sense of history, as there has been none at all, memories can play us false if they do not impel us to improve on them. Unless the position to the present pseudo-community in the Haight, lies in anything will change for the better. This is not a matter of sentiment, but of confronting social reality.

With this in mind, it would be reasonable to ask what kind of people are part of this so-called community. Street people, families facing eviction, store employees, 'responsive' merchants, gay people who have broken with the trappings of middle-class life, transients, and so on—somehow, all their diverse interests supposedly coalesce into a shared communal sentiment. But it could as easily be said (and more accurately) that the divisions within the Haight are more profound than just those between the rich merchants, speculators, and cops on one side and everybody else on the other. Gay men get beaten up and women assaulted and raped by people who are no more or less psychologically and economically oppressed than they are. Furthermore, there are people on the street who are leeches, pure and simple, with just as much of a knack for ripping others off as the storeworkers who call for more police protection of their precious merchandise and display windows.

Significantly, the various partisans of the commu-



ty have made very little effort to consider the needs and concerns of the people who live in the Haight but who spend most of their time in a downtown job working for some corporation or other. These workers are either paraded or asked for 'support' by the self-styled community representatives, who perceive them only in terms of their status as neighborhood residents, but at no time are their working lives seen as relevant to the life of the area in which they reside. Why this should be the case is unclear; perhaps it is a holdover from the days when people with 'straight' jobs were regarded with arrogant contempt by the ultra-hip suburban refugees playing at poverty. Whatever the reason, it is easy to sympathize with those who see the Haight merely as a place to sleep and spend what's left of the paycheck.

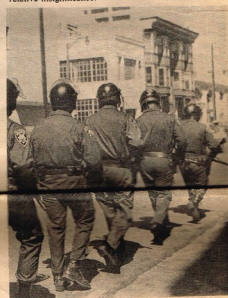
The dangers of confusing smug provincialism with a sense of community are shown in the practice of the 'new Diggers' in the Haight. To judge from their printed materials, it is as if they had learned nothing from the past ten years. When confronted with the deteriorating conditions of 'life' in this area, they can only proclaim 'Love Heals, Hate Destroys' and similar bubble-gum sentiments. Ironically, this is all reminiscent of precisely the kind of cosmic drive that the original Diggers lampooned so accurately in the days of the Summer of Love, right down to the infamous take-a-cop-to-dinner approach. Without the subversive edge that gave meaning to the Digger idea of 'free,' even such necessary and positive actions as sending people every day amounts to little more than the kind of charity that St. Anthony's Dining Hall dishes out. Perhaps these latter-day Diggers have more sense than they believe they have. However, and however else they decide to proceed, when they have chosen that it's a decision to try and save what's best left dead. And the next time they heap praise on the Haight merchants for favoring them with a few crumbs off the banquet table, they might also want to remember the (bad-vibes) statement of Gerard Winstanley, the original Digger: 'But I do not entrust thee, for thou are not to be entrained. I command thee.'

At least the present-day 'Diggers' have acknowledged the accomplishments of their forebears in the Haight—too bad that they have reduced such a heritage to a harmless variant of neighborhood populism. What distinguished the Digger spirit from the turn-of-tune-in/drop-out mentality promoted by the news media and the hip speculators was its refusal to accept not only the lies about 'love and peace' but the entire workable lie of capitalism. They recognized that communities were not just wished into existence but took shape through active opposition to the larger society. Being well-practiced in street theater, they used their actions to dramatize the need for people to change their 'frame of reference' to a way of life based on interdependence of the system. Their free food, stores, and medical care implied not a new form of capitalist social welfare but a means toward a greater end: helping people with the basic necessities so they could live out more fully their own vision of the community. Lacking any real support from the 'hip' merchants for their projects, the Diggers became entangled in the drudgery that inevitably confronts people who attempt to create a 'free' enclave within capitalism, and their projects ended amid exhaustion and infighting.

The Digger experience shows that the concept of community retains a positive content, one which remains to be developed further. However, this can only be carried out in practice and with the participation of other men and women. In the absence of such circumstances, any effort at redefining community is necessarily subjective, and hence consciously open-

ended and utopian. I am not so messianically inclined—or so deluded—as to think that practical activity aims merely at 'making the Word flesh.' But I think it is possible to say that all attempts at revolutionizing social life have expressed an aspiration towards community. For me, the forms such actions have taken are less important than the dreams embodied in them. Essentially, the struggle for community brings into play all those human qualities which are soiled or distorted by life in class society—trust, generosity, mutual aid, comradeship, loyalty, and (yes!) love. These attributes can only become social—common property—if the people involved have made them into their own individual qualities, enriched by their personal dreams and desires, and if they are willing to create an environment that will sustain and develop these qualities.

Community is the expression of people's common interests as individuals. While it can flourish very well on a local level, it has to extend itself beyond its point of origin lest it die in isolation. Divided as we are from each other in so many ways, any collective effort to change things necessarily involves these divisions, with all of the implied tension and conflict. Common interests stem from mutual recognition—they are not automatically given, and the only way for us to build a society where 'elective affinities' can blossom is through widening and sharing the range of our individual and collective experiences. In such a context, the socially-imposed roles we play—and the pseudo-communities founded on these roles—will dwindle into relative insignificance.



Visions are hard to come by these days, especially on the streets. It is almost as if we have to close our eyes in order to imagine anything, because once we open them, what we see chases away virtually all our fancies. Yet the street is there, and we are on it, and like it or not, it is our backdrop, our stage—a boulevard of broken dreams, indeed. Move over Hollywood—we now welcome the new factory of illusions, Haight Street, where you can take a trip without a ticket, just so long as somebody else writes your itinerary and slaps a price tag on the whole thing after you return.

Despite it all, there are women and men who, like the workers in Rimbaud's poem, are no longer content to drag along 'sweet memories' with their hardened arms. They are not waiting for others to tell them when and how to express themselves. They are finding their voices and are making themselves heard on the walls, on pieces of paper, and on the street, trying to break through the indifference of their fellow beings, seeking echoes of their thoughts. There is talk of occupying vacant buildings, of pre-empting police repression, of refusing to accept passively the role of merchants in the area. Where this will lead is unknown, but most that we as individuals can do is contribute to the ferment and try our best to divest ourselves of past and present illusions by creating visions of a life we can truly call our own.

—Christopher Winks



This was distributed anonymously at a rally in the Haight—we couldn't help but wonder what it would be like if the sentiment were extended to all shopping work places in the world!

# The Reality of Subversion

"The threat to the internal security of the republic is greater today than at any time since World War II. (We recommend) presidential emphasis on the nature of the threat...the reality of subversion and emphasis on the un-American nature of much so-called dissidence."

"Heritage Foundation Recommendations to President-elect Reagan (Associated Press, November 16, 1980).

"How do we get the point across that the worker has an obligation to come to work? Worker tardiness and absenteeism is getting worse and worse. The more you talk about it, the worse it gets."

--Dick Robbins, business manager and financial secretary for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 465. (San Diego Union, 12-15-80)

This is being written in the interest of helping make things worse. Worse that is for the employers, managers, labor brokers, bureaucrats and anyone else who would dominate our lives through work or any other means.

As alluded to in the last issue of Work and Pay (Politics of Theft), I, like the Heritage Foundation, feel that there is a reality of subversion. This subversion is occurring not only in the United States; but in the rest of the so-called free world, the so-called socialist or communist world, and the so-called third world. A major element of this subversive activity is an increasing indiscipline among the "work force" reflected in the collapse of the work ethic and the increasing, some would say epidemic, tendency of people to refuse to pay for things that they desire as well as to refuse to pay to maintain institutions which dominate their lives. When one notes that 80% of all people in the U.S. are considered to have been involved in shoplifting and/or employee theft, it becomes apparent that most people are subversive of one facet of domination or another-- even if that is not the way they think about it.

## Work, the Visible Enemy

As someone who has contributed at very far share to statistics on absenteeism, tardiness, employee indiscipline, employee theft, etc., I am always interested in how others are showing their dissatisfaction with the whole work/pay scheme of things. And what the Bosses, Bureaucrats, Labor Racketeers, and the whole

pantheon of domination have up their sleeve is to attempt to manipulate, coerce, or force us back into the work (unethical there is nothing ethical about work, the word having its roots in a Latin word meaning an instrument of torture).

Over the last three years, productivity, which has to do with output per hour, you work, has declined. A principle reason for this decline according to the San Diego Union (12-15-80) is worker tardiness and absenteeism, which are in turn due to a lack on loyalty and responsibility of the part of workers toward their employers. Because of this, the pantheon of dominators have taken it upon themselves to find ways to motivate their workers and prevent worker boredom of his/her job. (Isn't it nice to feel belogged?)

Recently, several things in this direction have caught my eye. This past month, in San Diego, there was a conference entitled "Jobs Through Productivity, Reindustrialization, and Quality of Work Life" sponsored by the Industrial Relations Research Association. In their advertising for it, the organizers stated that they "believe every segment of business, industry, labor, and government must make a firm commitment to identify and examine the steps they can take individually and collectively within their own areas of control and influence to bring order out of chaos." (My emphasis.) They further point out that their "ECONOMIC SURVIVAL DEPENDS ON IT." (Their emphasis.) It is immediately clear that their concern for the quality of work life is more a concern that we accept our role as work.

Similarly, the Human Productivity Institute (its title alone is enough to make you barf) is presenting a series of seminars "for managers, supervisors and professionals" titled "Managing Conflict Productively." They are kind enough to point out "the management of conflict is a major function of every organization including business firms and government agencies."

In a similar vein, Hospital Learning Centers is sponsoring a series of one day seminars for hospital department heads, managers, and supervisors. Titled "Managing the Marginal Employee," the hospital bosses will get to learn why marginal (meaning unreliable and irresponsible) employees don't do what they

want them to and how to change undesirable work habits and encourage responsible behavior in their employees.

At one hospital where these seminars were offered, one employee went around offering classes on how to be a marginal employee. Another substituted the words "Marginal Employee" for their name on their name plate.

Rather than having management get us interested in work there is another tactic. There have been at least six books that have come out psychology circles in the last six months which address the problem of "job burnout" and how to solve it. (Things which indicate a tendency toward job burnout are: Are you increasingly cynical and disenchanted? Are you invaded by a sadness you can't explain? Is joy elusive? Are you a clock watcher, chronically absent, a work dodger? Anyways, the sum of what these specialists in job burnout have to say is that you should lower your aspirations, and that your mind can be programmed (their word) to accept that even the most horrible job can be a challenge. And the University of California at Santa Barbara has a class this semester to help participants attain control over stress, habits, attitudes, and emotions called "Self-Program Control Techniques." (You too can become your very own computer system. How human!)

It never seems to occur to these court jesters (fools of the highest order) that it is the jobs, work itself, that is the problem, not the people who react against them. This was reflected in a leftliberal conference last year titled "Stress at Work: Your Invisible Enemy." Notice that it was stress, not work, which was seen as the enemy.

One other tactic of the ruling manipulators is called "industrial democracy." Seen as a way to get us to gleefully participate in our own exploitation--at the heart of their interests lies work and productivity. Industrial democracy contains much about industry and little to nothing about democracy. Never questioned is the whole factory-cybernetic-consumer society under which we suffer our stress, boredom, anxiety, and anger with the whole equation. "Someone still intends to have us work at least for the machines."

Some forms of manipulation/coercion are more subtle than others. A writer in the Dec. 5, 1980 Christian Science Monitor stated that "in the Soviet Union, adventure-like most other aspects of life--is organized by the authorities." What the writer failed to point out was how that is increasingly becoming the case here. ~~Some different forms of operation, the kinds of free time, are being encouraged at many workplaces in order to coax greater productivity and channel physical energies constructively.~~ You may think you're exercising for your health--they have you exercising for wealth. The leaders/dominators of Russia, the U.S., Japan and everywhere else, like the Nazis before them, see in recreation the possibility of their system of discipline.

## Desertion--the refusal of work discipline by other means

It was in the late 60's to early 70's that government/corporate leaders noticed, with mild alarm, that there was an increasing failure of the work ethic. During this time and up to the present, there has been a veritable explosion of material on "humanistic" management (i.e. manipulation) and democratization of the work place. However, the failure of the work ethic (Harris Poll, 4-30-81) and the dissatisfaction of workers with their expected role of worker has grown relatively unchecked as well. And, when the nice guy cop (management) fails--well as they say, "We have ways to make you work."

The business part of management learned long ago that it needed to avoid directly disciplining the workforce to make it malleable again when it was becoming combative. As a consequence, many indirect methods have been devised using government, church, unions, schools...

(It may have been the steel companies which shut down plants in Youngstown, but it has been a combination of church, union, and local government leaders who have encouraged the idea of opening the plants up under "workers' management" so that people could work "democratically" to make them profitable. At Chrysler, the government backs the loans, the union provides some management, the capitalists get a guaranteed income, and they all control a work force.)

In the past, that is up until the last ten years, recessions have functioned to bring workers into line. That is not happening in the most recent period. Whereas before, a recession would put a damper on worker combativity. Things like worker absenteeism, self-appropriation of time at the workplace (golfing-off), job nomadism, employee theft--all indicative of a failure in the work ethic ideology--have increased, not decreased, in the last ten years.

Reagan has shown his intention to continue and step up the attacks against this worker indiscipline begun by his predecessors. He (they) has no choice--things could get out of control. Our hope is, of course, that they will anyway. Though his figures may be overstated, Reagan is no doubt right in asserting that many people use the welfare system to escape the

Continued on next page

## SHREDDED SUPERVISORS DON'T TALK!



The supervisor used to give us a hard time, always hanging over our shoulders telling us to hurry up.

Now, our problems are solved!

**Surety Shredding, Inc.**

The latest in pest extermination for the office.



drudgery of the work process. To take care of that, he has threatened to institute workfare. The only problem is that the last time he tried that, in California, 98% of the people intended for the workfare net escaped it according to an Employment Development Department study.

And, for the moment, it appears that cut CETA employees will be happier with unemployment benefits rather than demanding work. Though, there have been rallies demanding "meaningful" employment instead of an end to the whole work/pay routine.

Another indication that austerity is not functioning to encourage greater discipline among people is the failure of the poverty draft. The poverty draft is the, at one time much touted but now much maligned, all "volunteer" army. The malnourishing comes because of malingerers. Neither appeals to patriotism nor the whip of poverty have been sufficient to encourage an adequate number of people to sign up. The San Diego Union reports that in 1980, the Navy had the highest number of people go AWOL since the Second World War. Also during 1980 there were a number of incidences of enlistees booing the National Anthem. Finally, those who stay, do so just long enough so they can get out and have their way paid through school, kick-back and party.

Lack of patriotism and discipline were cited as reasons for the need to reinstitute the draft which over 30% of graduating highschool students have said they would evade. Hardly encouraging for those into power. And indicative of the incapacity of even discipline to discipline. It is especially significant since all of this has been happening while Washington, Wall Street and Madison Avenue attempt to generate a war mentality with their Iran, Afghanistan, and El Salvador "crises".

Not to be outdone as forces for discipline are unions. Often thought of as organizations which fight for workers, they actually fight for the terms of workers' continued exploitation and their continued role as workers. Knowing this then, it is not surprising to read the union official quoted at the beginning of the article saying that "they also have a duty to management to see that the worker lives up to his (her) contractual obligation to perform the work for which he is hired and paid." But, as he also noted the more he talks about the problem of worker indiscipline, the worse it gets.

People's recognition that unions simply represent one more layer of regulating bureaucracy is no doubt a significant contributor to their current membership crisis. The desire to get out from under oppressive bureaucracies is also what is contributing to the phenomenal growth in what is referred to as the subterranean or underground economy. This "economy" involves barter, working off the books, drug dealing and other activities which allow the participants to avoid paying taxes as well as avoid having to work as much as they might otherwise have to.

The combination of increasing numbers of workers using whatever means they can to avoid paying taxes (like multiple deductions), Lou Harris' assessment that the non-voting population harbors an explosive and radical nature, and the growth of workers as well as social indicatives make one hopeful that it is no longer a question of "no taxation without representation" as our ruling historians tell us it was in 1776, but now a question of no taxation and while we're at it, no representation or work farce either.

"We are millions discovering, in confirming our own possibilities, a revolution whose pleasure we want to relish at the point of running risks, and we recognize fully the force of repressions in order to study all the ways to avoid displeasure. Prudent or flamboyant, the subversive player is never candidate for martyrdom. The grand game of anonymous subversion prepares the international appearance of the 'party' of subversion in exemplary collective actions. In this style of radical intervention the individual is seized at the root in seizing the root of the commodity world, becoming her/his own leader hostile to all leaders, giving us her/his authentic passions-to love, play, encounters, hate, creation, dreaming-their dimension of multidimensional realization, their bed in the making of history." (Quote by Raul Valenzuela, 1-5-72)

--Jesse James

## Slavery Wasn't Abolished

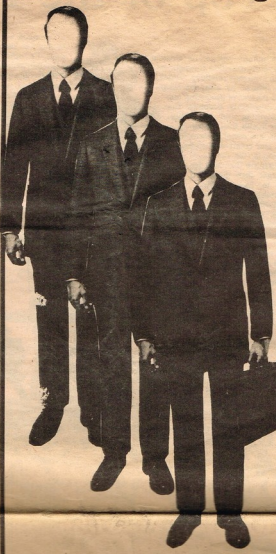
8 hours? It's more than 8 hours

It's getting up in time for and eating a good breakfast for and staying home evenings for and going to bed in time for so you can rest up from Living close by to not straying too far from buying a decent car for or paying a bus to or paying a train to or getting a friend to eating lunch from a paper bag on the premises of or paying two bucks for him fat on stale rye across the street from

Taking breaks from resting up from sneaking fringe benefits from resting up from getting ready for buying uniforms for resting up from getting ready for staying healthy for taking vacations from getting transferred from waking up for getting enough sleep for early to bed for early to rise for resting up from waking up for resting up from waking up for resting up from having dreams about

--Marie Cohen

# Attention College Graduates:



## Your Future Maintains Our Leadership Position

...as long as you continue your life as you have for the past 20-odd years. We need strong, able bodied willing to give up all pleasure for our needs. We need you if you are willing to be satisfied with meaningless activity, if you are willing to accept our leadership and authority, if you are willing to conform your thoughts to our line. This system has worked hard to produce you as you are today. You've already shown us your patience--most of you spent your first 18 years in a nuclear family obeying the rules of your parents and teachers. In the University you've experienced more of the same rules and regulations; you've experienced an increasing workload year after year (so that you're too busy for anything else), as well as less and less control over your own life. And you've shown remarkable restraint from anger over the petty problems of everyday life--finding a place to live, standing in long lines at the grocery, at registration for school, at finding a job (boring and useless that it was). And now we want to reward you. We'll offer you all kinds of gimmicks--we'll pay off your student loan, we'll give you a cash bonus, we'll give you professional status (even though we'll make all the decisions for you into our fold).

After all, we're only asking for your life.

## Is There Life After a Job?

An Unpaid Subvertiment

## To The Lady in Charge

To The Lady in Charge  
We'll color her blue  
She commits genocide  
which means me and you.  
If you have a family  
and you're too old,  
She'll get rid of you  
She's so very cold.  
And where do you find  
a job to feed the family?  
She doesn't worry.  
She's got lots of money  
So better beware!  
If she decides on you  
This kind of lady  
Would color her blue.



## Don't Crack, Crackerjack

You've developed a bad case of weak and tortured dreams, swept along in the mad race of their last-minute schemes. And you can't see the road cause your mind's in the gutter, and the prize you've been owed was a heart with a flutter. So you try to get doped more to forget you've been deceived, because all you can hope for will never be achieved.

You may think something could give and I pray that it's true, but take care if you'd live, that which gives may be you. This is no time to crack now since you've done all that running, make a stand and fight back now the results may be stunning.

--Bill Dollar, 1980

# The Top of the Pyramid

"I'd love to do that, if I had the money."

Money is a symbol of a relation between human beings. Its existence expresses the fact that human needs are presently satisfied through the exchange of goods and services. Yet, given such exchange relations, money, which initially is just a facilitator, obtains a life of its own. Exchange already implies a lack of direct control over the process of producing our needs. Money, initially a mere mediator, inevitably becomes the hierarch, since it can be exchanged for anything and everything.

Capitalism, East or West, multinationals or health food stores, is the most advanced form of money society. It is a social system in which a chunk of money buys people's time and creative energies. These are combined with tools and raw materials, the results of past labor, to produce goods and services, which are then sold for money. The final sum is intended to be larger than the initial investment. Money, as capital, appears to have magic self-expansion powers, but the "magic" is nothing more than the sucking of labor from wage slaves. Unless an activity results in profit, or sustains profit-making (e.g. most clerical and government work), it generally is not rewarded with pay. Control over capital thus becomes the prime form of social power over other people.

Life in the late 20th century is a constant struggle for money. Most of us need it for such necessities as food and rent (rent is often disguised as mortgage payments on a house you "own"). In the Soviet Union, rent is low because costs are deducted from paychecks. One thus avoids the frustration of temporary possession of money that has to be coughed up. As for food, even farmers who own land can't grow all their needs. We thus face a seemingly objective need for "bread." And few live on bread alone. Money pervades even leisure time.



The need for money is not merely a state of consciousness (sorry, EST). Money has become a part of material reality. It is the reason we put up with work, i.e. different forms of submission and degradation. The more money's domain expands, the more we become replaceable parts whose mission it is to feed the master. The present state of affairs has only been around for a few centuries, yet our conditioning and money's pervasiveness make it seem natural and eternal.

Some people live on one form or another of social payment, or lead a marginal existence, and thus confront work less frequently, if at all. Such a lifestyle, though, is hardly glorious, as harassed welfare clients and street people would tell you. And marginal enterprises like hippy artisans and subsistence farmers face a constant struggle to survive, which they can only do by adapting to the market. But such a move tends to defeat their aim of independence. So went the counter-culture.

Even the possession of wealth hardly guarantees security. The more you have, the more compulsive you tend to become. Today's hoard may be gone soon unless it is invested carefully, cultivated and treated real well. The world market is a vast arena in which different entities—corporations, small businesses, company-nations—enter gladiator-commodities which fight for the right to expand. Large entities, ones backed by large pools of money, are generally in a better position to compete because of scale and better access to productive technology. They easily kill off the small fry, but must increasingly contend with one another, e.g. the current war between large auto companies.

Money rules even the rich. Even a "nice" businessperson who's all for the system but hates to pollute, is reluctant to spend money on controls if this puts competitors in a more favorable financial position. He/she would also oppose mandatory controls if other competitors are located in lower

environments, i.e. other states or nations. Profitability eventually overshadows all other considerations.

The world market now faces strangulation at the hand of a credit monster. Debts have been expanded in a hopeless race to stave off a depression, but the expansion is now feeding inflation, and creating the possibility of the entire global financial house of cards collapsing because of overextension. Competition is thus getting stiffer and nastier, and each sum of money tells its managers, be they directors, owners, state bureaucrats or cooperative shareholders, "trim costs, or I won't survive to feed you."

At work, we face speed-ups, wage cuts, less and less enforcement of safety standards, and lay-offs. Benefits like childcare and unemployment are being slashed. We all face increasing costs for seemingly scarcer goods and services, such as food and public transit. And international competition is escalating into trade wars, whose consequences may well be another global war.

Attempts to form cooperatives and self-managed enterprises as a way out come up against the same market forces. Alternative enterprises are forced into speed-up, wage cuts, and even lay-offs. Such policies also lead to the recreation of hierarchy to enforce the needed austerity and enforce "smooth operation."

Clearly, the existence of money stands in the way of further human development, indeed of human survival. Exchange relations in all forms—wage labor, separate enterprises, national frontiers, private property—must be tossed aside. The dictatorship of money has to be destroyed, along with all forms of hierarchy.

Human needs can be met through the conscious matching of resources and needs. Federated collectives have kept social reproduction going in such occasions as the Seattle General Strike in 1919 and Spain, 1936-7. A Federation spanning the globe could now utilize transformed modern communications and data-processing to make such generalized, conscious planning a reality. The existing global productive capacity contains the potential to end material scarcity. Wasteful productive activity (e.g. military production, planned obsolescence, etc.) could be abolished, and the machinery and facilities could be drastically altered for practical use by freely associated individuals and groups. The social relations which "need" scarcity as an incentive to produce would be abolished, and soon scarcity itself could be, too.

Elimination of money also means the release of the energies of people currently busy with such jobs as advertising, insurance, banks, and sales (60% plus of all

workers in the U.S.). Work which is necessary for human material survival could thus be shared (this includes childcare and housework) greatly reducing the average workweek. This end could be furthered by the elimination of waste, and the automation of many processes, a step which would no longer mean unemployment. In fact, society would no longer measure wealth by money, congealed work-time, but by free-time, time available for self-activity. Work itself would lose its present form as a separate activity. Indeed, work and play would generally become indistinct.

As desirable and necessary as getting rid of money seems, most leftists clutch on to exchange relations. They generally propose government control of some industries, "democratic" management of the economy, and even dream of an alternative, "flat" socialist world market. The turning of Zimbabwe into a corporate headquarters under a "Marxist" government, or the dealings of Nicaragua with agritribunism, coupled with anti-strike actions by both "radical" governments, demonstrates little to the zealots regarding the impossibility of independence within the world market. Even some who call themselves anarchists talk of better or monetary relations between self-managed enterprises. For most, the abolition of money, let alone exchange, is utopian.

Actual tactics, though, frequently disclose an unconscious rebellion against exchange. Workers in Europe, particularly Italy, have resorted to taking goods and services such as electricity and mass transit without paying, a tactic called self-reduction. For example, a large group of people would walk into a supermarket, and, with the cooperation of store clerks, would buy quantities of food at "reduced" prices. Others have resorted to queuing to reduce housing costs. The discontented in Switzerland, who are confronting capitalist society in an escalating battle, use self-reduction, and also rely on mutual support. People take turns working and supporting their friends. Such an arrangement is temporary, they admit, but it can reduce the time squeeze money puts us under. Eventually, money must be challenged at the source, the relations of social reproduction. A glimpse of this was provided by utility workers in Italy who kept power flowing to households that were not paying increasing bills, and bus drivers in France who operated their vehicles without collecting fares. Enough of recipes for cooking the same old exchange shit. Let's have a feast.

—Jack Straw



Hundreds of college students have apparently been tapping into the phone system used by members of Congress and using the lines to make thousands of long distance calls for free.

Arizona representative Bob Stump says he discovered the scheme after his own WATS line was registering busy signals when it shouldn't have. Stump also says that excessive charges were appearing on his monthly phone bill.

The Congressional member from Arizona reports that he asked the U.S. Attorney's office to tap the line, and that federal investigators overheard what sounded like conversations between students and friends on different campuses.

According to Stump, investigators have since linked the calls to at least 30 college students at American University in Washington, and suspect that students at Georgetown and George Washington Universities are also involved.

The Arizona representative says at least 25 other congressional members have reported similar intrusions. Stump estimates the amount of unauthorized calls runs into the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

--Zodiac News Service (12-10-80)

For more information on freeing phone calls, contact **Overthrow**, P.O. Box 392, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013, tel. 212-533-5028, and TAP, 152 W. 42 Street, Room 418 New York, New York 10036

**A Loan Moan**

Does this little note remind you of anything?

I am certain that you have been intentionally forgotten your Student loan payment. Please take just a moment, right now, to mail us your check. We will surely appreciate it. --Another obnoxious note from another obnoxious bank

(Well actually it was being intentionally forgotten.)

Does this little note remind you of anything?  
I am certain that you have not intentionally forgotten your Student loan payment\$. Please take just a moment, right now, to mail us your check. We will surely appreciate it. --Another obnoxious note from another obnoxious bank

(Well actually it was being intentionally forgotten.)

The number of Americans declaring personal bankruptcy jumped 82 percent during the first full year of a new law that made going broke easier.

\*Many individuals who could meet their credit obligations are taking advantage of a system which

gations are simply taking advantage of a system which permits bankruptcy 'on demand' whether their financial condition warrants it or not," said Walter Kurth, president of the National Consumer Finance Association. (What does he know anyway?) While Congress did not intend the law to be a loophole for deadbeats, he said, "that is clearly what is happening today. (Let's hear it for the deadbeats!)"

Echoing Kurth's sentiments, lameduck Bank of America President A.W. Clausen said the federal Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1979 has made it too easy for "unscrupulous debtors and opportunistic lawyers" to arrange for the escape of debt.

Clausen said Bank of America's losses due to bankruptcies filed by its borrowers increased "dramatically" from October, 1979, to September, 1980, the first year the revised act was in effect. Its net credit card losses due to bankruptcy rose fivefold in the period, while consumer loan losses due to bankruptcy rose threefold. --The Recorder (2-5-81) & LA Times (3-24-81)

Succeeding in big business is not heavy on the minds of younger employees. An A.T.&T. study of more than 200 recently hired college graduates reveals they have much less interest in climbing the corporate ladder than did their counterparts 25 years ago, and they are often unwilling to take leadership roles.

A second research poll of 200 firms indicates young workers under 30 are also among the most dissatisfied with their jobs, their companies, and their employee benefits. --Zodiac News Service (12-10-80)

The year is 3500 B.C., give or take a couple-hundred years. The place is Giza, in Egypt, site of the Pyramid Works Program. Cheops, the hated tyrant, the cruel task-master, is relaxing on the porch of his summer palace with his son, Djedefre. They are sipping wine coolers made with ice from over a thousand miles away. Cheops is in an expansive mood. He is giving his son lots of fatherly advice, to help him on his way through life. "Listen, son," he says, "Nice guys always

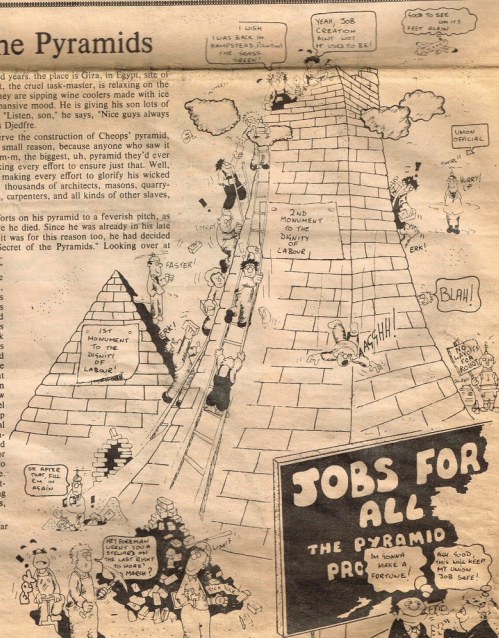
finish last. Don't ever forget that. I won't, because I'm not. From where they are sitting, they are able to observe the construction of Cheops' pyramid, later to be known as The Great Pyramid, and for no small reason, because anyone who saw it had to admit it for sure was a big pyramid, umm-hm, the biggest, uh, pyramid they'd ever seen. And so, the big pyramid was a big threat. Cheops was making every effort to ensure just that. Well, actually, Cheops was sipping wine coolers. The ones making every effort to glorify his wicked name with this huge rock-heap were thousands upon thousands of architects, masons, quarrymen, bargemen, road-builders, scaffold-makers, cooks, carpenters, and all kinds of other slaves, all of whose names have been forgotten.

This year Cheops had increased the production efforts on his pyramid to a feverish pitch, as he wanted to ensure that it would be completed before he died. Since he was already in his late thirties, he felt he was not long for this world. And it was for this reason too, he had decided the time was ripe to pass onto his son the true "Secret of the Pyramids." Looking over at Djedefre from under his wine-heavy lids while gesturing towards the pyramid, he says, "Whaddya think?"

Freshly neat, Dad. Looks like they might almost be finished after these years, huh? Could be! I mean, although there will always be other projects along the way, I've wanted to take you to today about why this is being done, to tell you a dark and terrible secret and to let you in on the royal family. Gosh, Dad, what is it? "Well my son, suppose you tell me why you think the museum is being built. I mean, and I guess I have something to do with the lustration of the body, and eternal life in the underworld, and stuff like that, like the Greeks tell us. But I mean, why? I guess I have made my secret so terrible. I for one, don't believe in eternal life or an underworld, and I don't even believe what "lustration" means. I mean, why? I guess I shall pay the priests to dream up, the better to keep our workers and slaves convinced. I have the other real reason we keep them building these pyramids and other monuments all the time is to keep them so tired and preoccupied that they never have the energy or initiative to kill us and take all my money. Now, you go get the picture?" "Uh-h, yeah," says Dodegus. "Hey Dad, you know, if you want your eyes to be a little bit, those workers look just like ants crawling around on a great big ant-hill." "Yeah, sure, Dad. Don't they just? Let's get to my health, son."

..Bill Dollar

DID YOU KNOW.....  
THE EARLIEST WORD  
FOR WORK IS TRAIL  
FROM THE LATIN WORD  
→ TRAILUM → AN INSTRUMENT  
OF TORTURE!



# Shots Heard 'Round the World

Around the world, people appear to be increasingly disaffected with conditions which oppress them. As such they are causing great headaches for those who are concerned with the need for discipline and their continued domination.

Below are stories which caught our collective eye. In fact, the articles which follow by no means exhaust the material we had on hand, which includes articles on rebellion in Vietnam, India, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere. If you are aware of similar kinds of news anywhere, let us know about it.

## West Germany's No-Future People

On April 11, 1981, 10,000 demonstrators from West Berlin's lively counterculture gathered in Wittenberg Square to protest the current housing shortage. Some wore down paint. Many wore brought guitars, clarinets, drums and canteens. It was grand street theater. On the following night, some 500 young demonstrators gathered near Wittenberg Square to sympathize with the two-month-old hunger strike of jailed terrorists. They went on a rampage, smashing store windows, burning cars and battling police.

As house squatting and other youth protests have spread across northern Europe in the past half year, officials in West Berlin and some two dozen other Western European cities are asking questions like "What accounts for the difference?" and "How can the violence of the 'chaotic' be prevented from spreading?" The basically peaceful counterculturalists, bored with and disdainful of their affluent society, are a fertile soil.

Over a recent weekend (3-21-81), there was violence involving young people and their anger with authority in 19 West German cities, most of them in sympathy with the squatters.

In West Berlin, there were 39 separate incidents including a botched attempt to set the Reichstag on fire, an attack on a building owned by the West German trade unions and another on a property owner's association.

Hours after police clashed with youths in the university town of Freiburg, stones were hurled through the window of one police station and another was firebombed.

In Bremen, following a demonstration against atomic energy, the police seized 24 youths and charged them with smashing windows of banks, department stores and other businesses. The battles included one in Hamburg involving policemen with attack dogs and youths armed with high-powered slingshots, steel balls and bolts.

All this has made the established political parties extremely nervous because indications are that the movement is accelerating. "Among the young people I know, the Social Democrats, who used to have strong contacts with youth, are completely discredited now," says 30-year-old social worker William Giese.

In West Berlin, the squatters, who like to call themselves the "No Future" people, are at the center of the unrest because they are full-time participants in activities that not only condemn the established order, but in their view completely expose it as well. The themes of furious repudiation are wide and overlapping. They involve a housing shortage, atomic energy, the military; and, recently, El Salvador. There is also disgust with consumer society, with politicians, and with a life which, rather than as promised seems to be bringing only narrower perspectives.

City officials, of course, cannot pretend to address the protesters' basic complaints about a soulless, commercial, rigid society in which conformist careerists are expected to stay on the hierarchical treadmill. To try to halt the momentum toward ever more violent confrontation, officials are focusing on what they see as the key issue of inadequate housing.

The background in West Berlin is that the city has a shortage of up to 20,000 apartments. Urban renewal projects have resulted in many old apartment houses being condemned and then standing empty. Because of rent control on old buildings, there is no interest in modernizing them.

Squatters began taking over buildings last year. They now hold 116 houses, and have the ability, in violent circumstance if necessary, to seize 650 more vacant buildings.

In West Berlin, there have been subsidies to refurbish empty buildings and a policy of leaving the squatters alone unless the owners of the houses seek injunctions.

The counterculture's response to the city government's efforts is largely one of detestation and solidarity with peers. The squatters accuse city hall of doing little for housing until the squatters movement and sporadic violence forced it to act - and of permitting decay of rent-controlled buildings as speculators planned on erecting future luxury apartments or shopping complexes.

The police try to say there's a small violent kernel, but that's just not true. We say one squatter: "We're all of the mind that fighting is a legitimate means when everything else fails; and everything else is failing. There's no boss, no strike-puller behind us, but our ties are getting much wider. We're very close to the ecological people. We talk to people in Amsterdam and Zurich."

Many young West Berliners, who cheer squatters and jeer police, suspect or even hate authority. These thousands regard the state as oppressor in a series of issues ranging from environmental protection to the refusal of the state to treat those hunger-striking jailed terrorists as prisoners-of-war.

West Berlin is much more tense and there's a much blacker, more anarchistic feel, even though the objective cause, the housing shortage, is vastly more serious in Amsterdam. -A Dutch reporter said. -The Christian Science Monitor and SF Chronicle (4-15-81), SF Examiner (3-27-81) & San Diego Union (11-10-80).

## South Africa Riots

Rioting has returned to South Africa. The latest incidents were in a racially mixed township just southeast of Johannesburg which left two youths dead, 21 injured and scores of cars and shops gutted.

Harry Oppenheimer, the richest man in Africa, has anticipated this rioting with an "enlightened" plan for its containment. He says, "One has difficulties if you have a union which makes all sorts of demands - which we may or may not think are reasonable. But it is much better than to have no one to talk to. I mean nowadays, if there's great discontent, there's a tendency to have a riot. And that's the first you hear of. There is no one to explain it to you, although there may be a very good grievance all the same. There's a great tendency for our present mine-workers to be unwilling to even elect a delegation. They say that everything wants to come to them and they try to arrange for negotiation to take place at a mass meeting, which is not very easy. So I do think it is important for there to be an organization which they can really trust to represent them." He also sees that giving everyone the right to vote will be another way of containing discontent.

Obviously many blacks, if not their "leaders" see through this charade. As one worker at the Ford Corral plant in eastern Cape Province said, "I don't believe we can change the system or make it better from within. If you register (a union) you have to exhaust all the machinery and go through all the formal negotiations, and that takes 12 to 18 months. Meanwhile, the problem is still there and many other problems are cropping up." -SF Chronicle (2-25-81, 5-11-81) & Mother Jones (11-80)

## Hooligans in Poland

Sadly, the leaders of the Solidarity Union in Poland have done more than their share of exposing their role as containers of spontaneous anti-state activity and supporters of the regime. This was shown most recently in the Solidarity union leaders' denial of the burning down of a police station in Odrokow as the work of drunken hooligans. Also, Solidarity's head, Lech Walesa, has stated that foreign intervention would be welcome if workers continued on what he referred to as the "chaotic road of confrontation." -SF Chronicle (numerous)

## Incipient Unrest in East Europe

Poland may be only the beginning. Over the coming decade, the Soviet Union could face half a dozen economic and political crises in other East European countries as severe as those that have torn Poland, according to experts in Washington.

In the introduction to recently published series of reports from the U.S. Congress's Joint Economic Committee, John D. Hurd of the Congressional Research Service concludes that following a decade of growth and improvement in the lot of their consumers, all of the nations of East Europe face a period of economic crisis.

Representative Henry S. Reuss, a Democrat from Wisconsin who is chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, warns that although Poland is the most obvious example of crisis, other East European countries could easily fall into similar circumstances. As examples, he cites Czechoslovakia, whose economy is suffering from slow growth, inflation, energy shortages and a deterioration in trade; and Yugoslavia, where indebtedness, inflation, low productivity, and other factors have dimmed the outlook. (In fact, during

March, Yugoslavia was rocked by a series of riots in the province of Kosovo.)

"In all these countries the incipient unrest is very deep," Mr. Reuss said.

The committee chairman believes - and here he speaks for himself not for the committee - that the U.S. and the Soviet Union would do well to devote fewer of their resources to the arms race and more to both Eastern Europe and the less developed nations. Otherwise, he says, the world is heading for disaster. Sharp slowdowns in economic growth will probably be experienced in such countries as Romania, Hungary, and East Germany as the Soviet Union reduces oil supplies and economic aid because of its own economic problems. The Soviets have gradually been trying to cut what is in effect an energy subsidy for Eastern Europe.

"Evertime the Soviets push on the subsidies, Eastern Europe has to push the population," says Edward A. Kewell, an economist and associate professor at the University of Texas in Austin. "That lowers living standards."

Soviet "subsidies" for oil to Eastern Europe amounted to an estimated \$10 billion in 1980. That happens to be roughly equal to the total Soviet debt to the West. But according to experts such as Heward, if the Soviets try to reduce the subsidies too quickly, they could find more East European workers taking to the streets.

The Reagan administration's recent decision to provide \$90 million worth of food to Poland and to see what it can do to help "roll over" Polish debts is more of a stop gap than anything else. And, within the next few years, the administration may have much more than Poland to worry about. -LA Times (3-23-81) & Christian Science Monitor (4-15-81).

## Soviet Curs Bombed

On March 28, in Athens Greece a previously unknown organization calling itself *Autonomous Resistance* placed four bombs under Soviet diplomats' cars in support of workers in Poland. Only one bomb exploded, causing damage, but there were no injuries. Leaflets left outside Athens University said the action was an indication of international solidarity towards the unarmed Polish workers and other suppressed people. -SF Examiner (3-28-81)



London's Burning

During the weekend of April 10-12, England was rocked by some of its worst rioting in decades. It occurred in the racially mixed London neighborhood known as Brixton.

The rioters, mostly young and black but accompanied by some white youths, set fire to buildings, burned cars, and looted stores. From rooftops they pelted police with bricks.

The BBC said: "The scale and ferocity of the damage is staggering." On Saturday alone, it is said rioters burned 25 cars in one action alone.

The violence, reminiscent of riots in American black ghettos, began with a confrontational between police and bottle-throwing youths on Friday, then became a full-scale riot Saturday night. It flared seriously again on Sunday evening.

At the height of the violence Saturday night, up to 1000 youths in roving gangs - with bricks, iron bars and Molotov cocktails - fought an equal number of police from late afternoon until early morning.

In what a police official described as "an orgy of looting and setting fire to premises and vehicles," scores of jewelry, appliances and other stores were looted by both blacks and whites, while two dozen buildings and as many cars and police vans were burned. Sunday, Brixton was a scene of overturned, charred vehicles, gutted buildings, bricks and broken glass.

The violence appeared to be directed at the police rather than at whites in the district. When Deputy Prime Minister William Whitelaw and London Police Commissioner David McNee toured the area by foot with a heavy police escort Sunday afternoon, they were taunted with shouts of "Sieg



Heil." Then, while they visited injured police officers in a nearby hospital, a few hundred youths again pelted police with bricks and bottles.

Police said 165 officers were injured Saturday night alone, 24 of them seriously. Twelve firemen and at least 18 civilians also were hurt Saturday night. No firearms were used by either side. --SF Chronicle (4-12-13-81)

#### El Salvador and Northern Ireland

Despite the contention of leftists and the establishment media, the opposition in El Salvador is more than the sum of its united fronts. Though we are being persuaded that there are two or at most three contending political factions, one has only to note that all the contenders have set themselves up as the representatives of the people's interests. In other words they are not the people but some perceived representation of them.

Most people in El Salvador are united the united fronts of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) as well as all other political groupings. They are ignorant of (and probably kept ignorant by all sides) Cuba and Russia. They just know that they are fighting against as it imposes itself on their daily lives.

As some peasants said to a Harper's reporter: "What is this thing you call a guerrilla? I would like to become a guerrilla, and have boots, and a uniform to wear, and a gun. Then when the soldiers come, I could fire back. I would not have to run and hide in the forest." "Can you tell us, please, sir, how we might defeat the Cubans, and how we can form them into what they might help us?" and finally, "To be a revolutionary is to fight against the soldiers who kill people who have committed no crime."

The left in El Salvador may climb to power on the backs of the people who are fighting against the misery that has been imposed on them. After all, the left is getting all the attention as though it is the people. If they do come to power, the left, no doubt, will attempt to impose capitalist solutions on the people of El Salvador just as the Sandinistas have done, with Caste & Cook, to the people of Nicaragua. The people in El Salvador, like people everywhere on this planet, will need to fight against this imposition as well if they are to truly end their misery.

Don't get us wrong. We oppose any U.S. intervention, the Duarte government, and any other country's interference in any way in the government leadership which might be imposed on the El Salvadoran people or ourselves. Rotten choices are still rotten.

Similarly, in Northern Ireland, the deaths of Irish Republican Army martyrs, Bobby Sands, and Francis Hughes, have been the spark for many riots. However, the IRA warning that kids who were rioting would be kept off the streets, indicate there is not an identity of interests between the IRA and the rioters. Perhaps the IRA recognizes that the rioting could get, or already is, out of their control.

What is at stake in Northern Ireland is more than narrow Irish nationalism or mere sectarian squabbling. It is to do with the control of the Irish people. Again, we do not support British intervention, there just as we do not support any other form of government being imposed on the Irish or ourselves.

#### Armed Peasants in Mexico

On January 20, 1981, 10,000 armed peasant cut off roads to some Mexico's richest oil fields. They charged the state-owned oil monopoly with destroying their crops.

The peasants, some with pistols, shotguns, and machetes, seized principal access routes to the Cactus and Reforma oil fields in southeastern Chiapas State for several days. The occupation paralyzed production of 300,000 barrels of oil a day and two-thirds of Mexico's daily gas consumption.

Discoveries in Chiapas in 1974 provided a major boost to Mexican oil production, which has grown at a rapid rate since the early 1970's. But peasants in the region contend the boom has had a negative influence on nearly every aspect of their lives. Roads that had lasted 15 years before the start of large-scale drilling and oil production now have to be replaced annually. Liquid discharges from the oil facilities fouled water in rivers and swamps, affecting crops and livestock. The production of cocoa, an ancestral industry and a very important source of income for the people of Chiapas, has dropped 50 to 60 percent.

#### Chaos in China

On January 12, 1981, a report in the Shanghai Liberation Daily said, "In Shanghai and other places, a situation has developed which is worthy of our attention. There are several areas where people wish to plunge the nation into chaos and are using methods of the Cultural Revolution to engage in incitement and troublemaking."

The Shanghai newspaper said all these activities were widespread and most were even on the increase. The northeastern Liaoning Daily said class struggle still exists and, "We must be vigilant and deal with it seriously." It went on to catalog major problems facing the country.

People are spreading 'reactionary rumors, writing

reactionary leaflets, posters and letters, and are engaged in inciting sabotage and manufacture of bombs," the paper said.

Criminals are also 'stealing guns and ammunition, engineering bomb explosions and engaging in murder, smuggling and speculation."

There are no reliable estimates on the number of guns circulating in China. But a list of weapons named by Radio Beijing indicated a quantity of firearms have found their way from the military arsenals to the general public.

Gun control regulations have recently been approved by the State Council, the highest level of government, Radio Beijing said.

The gun control laws, the first of their type in China, were aimed at "preserving the public order" and preventing guns from falling into the hands of people who engage in 'sabotage activities."

A recent speech by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping reflected deep concerns among senior party leaders over the spurt in anti-government protests, civil disobedience, formation of non-Marxist groups and organizations, and independent labor unions in Chinese factories.

Among the most disquieting elements have been efforts by disgruntled workers: the industrial cities of Shanghai and Wuhan to set up Polish-style labor associations free from Communist Party controls. Some of these worker groups had printed pamphlets and elected officers before factory bosses ordered them disbanded.

Early this year, three bombs exploded at different times at the same power plant in Shanghai, leading police to suspect that these detonations were politically motivated. --SF Chronicle (1-14-4-8, & 4-28-81).

#### Switzerland's Movement of the Discontented

The Swiss reputation for clockwork perfectionism is being disrupted by young rioters discontented with the country's materialism.

One afternoon last November, the portly city president of Zurich, Sigmund Widmer, was strolling on the historic Lindenhof at the center of the Old Town when a small band of young people, most of them in windbreakers and patched blue jeans, approached him. They shook their fists under his nose, pulled his necktie, pushed him around and almost knocked his fur cap off his head. Mr. Widmer escaped by jogging to the nearby station house of the cantonal police opposite City Hall.

Meanwhile, other groups of young people were roaming all over the Old Town, hurling stones at shops and splashing paint across the facades of buildings. Riot police with round riotwater shields tried to contain the roving youths, but some reached the Bahnhofstrasse, the most elegant street in the city, and spread the contents of overturned garbage along the boulevard. Shopkeepers set wooden planks in place to protect shop windows and their nutria-lined vicu/na coats and \$5500 crocodile handbags.

For the last several months, thousands of young Swiss, members of the inchoate "Movement of the Discontented" have been on a rampage. It started in Zurich with a violent protest against the failure of Switzerland's largest city to provide a meeting place for young people, then took on an urban-guerrilla pattern with hit-and-run raids that have spread to Basel, Bern, Lausanne and other Swiss cities. The police have reacted with hard-rubber bullets, water cannons, and a particularly nasty brand of tear gas.

During one of their periodic parades through downtown Zurich, the protesters carried a streamer proclaiming, "We have enough grounds for weeping even without your tear gas." As one listens to the complaints of the young protesters, it becomes clear that there is a strain of discontent that runs deep, a kind of malaise that has grown out of a rejection of conformity and a dissatisfaction with the materialism, militarism, and male orientation of Switzerland's seemingly picture-perfect society.

The motto of the young protesters is "No Leaders!" The words are painted in giant letters in English-on the sloping roof of the workshop that was their temporary center last summer. One problem facing Swiss authorities in dealing with the discontented is the absence of "appropriate" protesters with whom to have a dialogue. The youths meet in general assemblies where they can only represent themselves. Emilie Lieberherr, a Social Democrat who, as City Commissioner for culture primarily concerned with the youth center question, has repeatedly complained that the discontented have "no structures."

But, they do have a weekly newspaper called, until recently, Der Zehnreiter (The Tenrider), and now named simply Boycott, and it claims a circulation of 12,000. It pokes fun at the authorities and accuses the police of "provocations" to entrap young people. In a recent issue, the paper suggested that "hundreds of windows are waiting to be artistically smashed."

Bertha, a short-haired blonde kindergarten assistant who is in her late 20's, comments, "We are on the vanguard of all anti-capitalist, anti-nuclear, pro-environment, pacifist movements in the world. Are we Communists? No. Are we anarchists? Call us that if you wish." --The New York Times Magazine (2-8-81)

#### Refusing to Pay for Disservices Rendered

On March 28, 1981, several thousand anti-nuclear activists marked the second anniversary of the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant by burning their utility bills using two charcoal grills. The parading turned their electric bills to protest the sharp jump in rates since the TMI accident.

On one grill was a large brass kettle to heat water for tea.

"Welcome to the Ratepayer's Congress first bill-burning and tea party," said a participant.

Los Angeles and San Diego anti-nuke groups are increasing efforts to encourage the self-education of utility bills as well. (One can only hope that the idea and activity of refusing to pay is extended over the whole of commodity society and not simply one narrow facet.) --S.F. Examiner (2-28-81) and other sources

#### Free Bus Rides

On January 27, 1981, the Public Utilities Commission was told that the Municipal Railway's transfer theories bear so little relation to reality that clever passengers have been cheating the railway out of \$2.7 million a year by using the same transfers over and over.

The rules are so complicated, the Muni staff told the commission, that drivers seldom enforce them, and some passengers ride all day on a single transfer.

The Muni has tried to cut down on fraud by stamping the transfers with a date, but some canny passengers have whole collections of transfers that cover every day of the year and never pay a fare at all.

The Muni hopes to prevent fraud by printing coded letters and colors on the transfer. Muni staffer Tony Bruneau said the Muni has come up with 150 different combinations so that the same code would come up only three times a year. Muni drivers would be able to tell when the transfer expired because the transfers can be torn off to show an expiration time.

Meanwhile, Muni can't or won't provide an estimate about how many people are color-screening, off-set printing, or silk-screening Fast Passes, the cards that allow you to ride anywhere in S.F. for one month. --S.F. Chronicle (1-28-81) and S.F. State Phoenix (12-11-80)

#### Voluntary Non-Compliance

More than 3500 auto-revokers in the Detroit/Flint, Michigan area are refusing to file income tax returns and falsifying withholding forms in a revolt that has stymied the government.

"This is the largest, or at least one of the biggest, tax protest movements in the country," said Leonard Nawrocki, IRS managers of criminal investigations in Flint.

The IRS is threatening to strike back with its entire legal arsenal, but Nawrocki conceded the large number of protesters will make prosecutions difficult - and he is considering asking for help from Washington.

"That's the secret - the numbers," Nawrocki said. "I don't think we can prosecute every one of them."

Only five cases have been referred for possible prosecution and only in one case is the IRS actually recommending criminal sanctions.

On March 17, Deputy Treasurer R. T. McNamar said new, temporary regulations will require the help of employers to police tax evaders who use up to 99 deductions in order to ensure that no taxes are withheld from their paychecks.

This form of rebellion is also being used by construction workers in a Washington state nuclear plant, hospital workers in the Los Angeles area, and union (by the IRS) thousands elsewhere in the country.

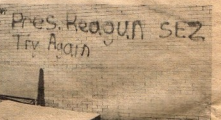
Of this rebellion, McNamar says, "In a nation that cherishes its democratic freedoms and a work force of people who support the principles of democracy, this abuse cannot be tolerated." (And we thought the existence of bureaucrats like him and the compilation of being a work force were abuses which should be tolerated.) --SF Chronicle (2-23-81) & LA Herald Examiner (3-18-81)

#### Counterfeit Money--A Student Project

Students at William Allen High School in Allentown, Pennsylvania, recently took a little direct action to get some extra spending money. Several students used the school's offset printing press to print more than \$3000 worth of counterfeit \$1 and \$5 bills.

The money-making began when a student made up a Christmas tree of counterfeit \$5 bills. Other students, apparently seeing how well the bills turned out, printed up some singles. These were then used in coin changers to get hard cash.

The scam was exposed after a 17-year-old student was arrested for allegedly passing a fake bill at a pizza parlor. --S.F. Chronicle (2-81)



Along with the classroom of cheering kids, not everyone is unhappy that presidents and popes get shot.

On Sept. 2, 1979, Katherine Smith, a 60-year-old woman of Big Mountain, Arizona was arrested for firing a rifle to stop a government crew from building a barbed-wire fence on the land. The fence is being constructed as a result of Public Law 93-531, also known as the "Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act" passed by Congress in 1974.

In 1882, the U.S. created a reservation for Navajos and Hopis (where they were already living). The government decreed it should be shared by the 2 groups (which they were already doing). Then in the 1930's, some of this reservation was set aside exclusively for Hopi use. In 1962, a Federal Court ruled 1.8 million acres, outside of that set aside for Hopi use, was to be shared by Navajos and Hopis. But in 1974, Congress passed PL 93-531 authorizing an equal partitioning of the Joint Use Area (JUA). This is the reason for the fence Katherine Smith was trying to stop. Because of it, 8000 Navajos and 100 Hopis have found themselves on the wrong side and being forced to move.

A Committee has been formed of Navajos and Hopis Unity which has issued statements that this "land dispute" is recent and of their own making. Both groups have lived with each other for more than 400 years. This so-called "land dispute" is a disguise to remove them from the JUA. This area is located in Black Mesa, site of Arizona's only known coal reserves, estimated at 21 billion tons.

The Navajo-Hopi Unity Committee says this dispute is to make it easier for American energy corporations

to exploit these vast resources in the land. The Indians, who have been living with the desert land, are being forced into a wage economy, a future of labor in the mines.

In 1923, Standard Oil Co. found oil on the reservation and asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to appoint 5 men to a Navajo Tribal Council. The purpose of this council, set up by the U.S. Government, was to lease the land for oil production. The government also imposed programs whereby 90% of livestock would be reduced. Increasing numbers of traditional people were forced to become dependent on wage labor as a means of survival.

Then in 1949, Kerr-McCree Corp. discovered uranium deposits and by 1951 uranium mining began. Other companies opened up operations for other minerals. During the 1950's, coal deposits were leased by the BIA and the government-run tribal councils. During the 1960's, coal and uranium mining expanded and relocation of people out of the striminated area into mobile home parks was started.

The Navajo Tribal Council (set up by the U.S. government) can proudly announce that "...in one year, the Navajo nation exports enough energy resources to fuel the needs of New Mexico and Arizona for 16 years." What it fails to mention is that 85% of Navajo households have no electricity. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights says that Navajo per capita income is 1/4 the national average, and infant mortality is 10 times the national average.

The U.S. government-backed Hopi Tribal Council

is as bad. They are aggressively pursuing oil, gas, coal, and uranium developments on their side of the 1.8 million acres. In fact, a 95-year-old Navajo was jailed overnight and fined \$160 for watering livestock at a spring he has used for 60 years.

This latest forced relocation of Indians is scheduled to begin July, 1981, and to be completed by 1986. It is the largest mass removal of Indians in North America since the Cherokee Trail of Tears in the 1800's.

In the 5th International Treaty Conference in 1979, Big Mountain people declared "total resistance to any effort or influence to be removed from our homes and to be relocated elsewhere. We further declare our right to exist in peace and harmony with our Hopi neighbors and cooperation between us will remain unchanged, we further declare that there is no justification for the U.S. government to spend billions of dollars to relocate 8000 people when a much smaller amount of money could improve the capacity of the land to support the lifestyle of both Navajo and Hopi to graze as many animals in this area as we so choose."

This article was excerpted from a larger article which can be obtained by writing one of these locations: Big Min./Dine (navajo) Nation, P.O.B. 35, Oraibi, V.I.A. Ariz., 86039; Big Min. Support Committee, P.O.B. 7082, Albuquerque, N.M. 87194, 508-786-1500/09; Burnham/Big Min. Support Group in Oakland, 415/841-6800.

## The Taming of Feminism

Continued from p. 1

In the U.S.A., liberal and leftist groups want what Bella Abzug stated at the Day in the Park. "We've got to make up our minds that we are going to make this country work." And the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has objectives that call for "strengthening the role and participation of women in the unions, encouraging women to engage in the political processes of the nation, seeking affirmative action, equality of pay/promotion, hiring, and job classification." It's only natural then that people like Bella Abzug, the CLUW, NOW, and other such groups hail the ERA as the answer to our liberation.

But looked at for what it stands for, the ERA can easily be called the "Empty Rights Amendment". Empty because the only change that can be made through passage and enforcement of it is that more women will attain higher positions in business and government. (Maybe we can even have a woman president!!) But the basic relationships between people won't change at all. Representation by women is equally dominating as representation by men. Perhaps

of brandy typifies this. "I stand by my brandy," she says.

Another illusion being manufactured, at least in the Bay Area, as well as elsewhere, is the recruitment of women into the police force. Women's Day in the Park was patrolled by women cops (working under the orders of a male in charge). The illusion here is thinking that we'll be better protected because we'll have more representation on the police force. But, were anyone to "get out of hand" during the rally, they surely would have been quickly suppressed, arrested and hauled away. Women may become cops under the auspices of protecting other women from harassment, rape, etc., but the real nature of the police force is to control people's behavior. And women cops will have to arrest other women for "anti-social behavior" at some point in their career. A recent incident on bar on Haight Street found a WOMAN and man team harassing, arresting, and beating up people for no reason (except to "clean up the Haight"). This is a most sickening display of "feminism".

women will fight for equality of wages, etc., etc., but the fact remains that women (and men) will still be working at boring and useless jobs. They will still take orders from a boss, make fucked products, or shuffle meaningless documents around.

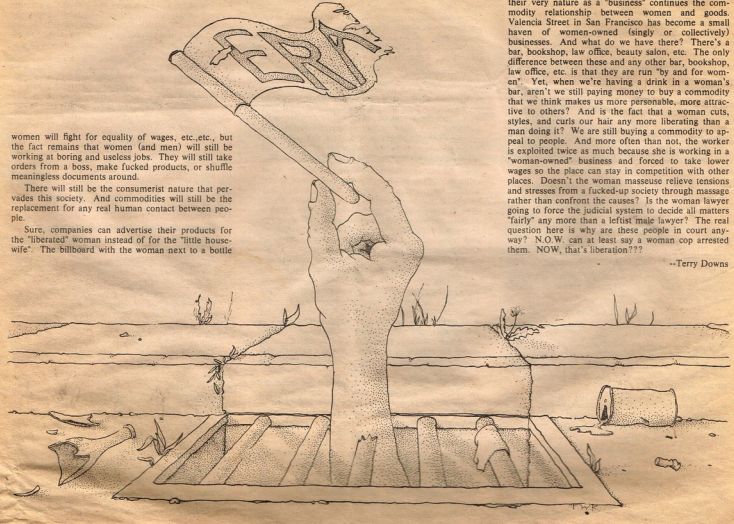
There will still be the consumerist nature that pervades this society. And commodities will still be the replacement for any real human contact between people.

Sure, companies can advertise their products for the "liberated" woman instead of for the "little housewife". The billboard with the woman next to a bottle



On the other side of the coin are the groups who recognize that society is dominated by power and money, but choose only to challenge a part of it and ignore the rest. They blame patriarchy as the one and only reason for the position of women today. Most feel that eliminating domination by men eliminates all our problems. These groups are usually collectives of women who run a business "by and for women". There is certainly a need of space for women who don't want to be bounded and harassed by men or who simply want to be with other women. But by their very nature as a "business" continues the commodity relationship between women and goods. Valencia Street in San Francisco has become a small haven of women-owned (singly or collectively) businesses. And what do we have there? There's a bar, bookshop, law office, beauty salon, etc. The only difference between these and any other bar, bookshop, law office, etc. is that they are run "by and for women". Yet, when we're having a drink in a woman's bar, aren't we still paying money to buy a commodity that we think makes us more personable, more attractive to others? And is the fact that a woman cuts, styles, and curls our hair any more liberating than a man doing it? We are still buying a commodity to appeal to people. And more often than not, the worker is exploited twice as much because she is working in a "woman-owned" business and forced to take lower wages so the place can stay in competition with other places. Doesn't the woman masseuse relieve tensions and stresses from a fucked-up society through massage rather than confront the causes? Is the woman lawyer going to force the judicial system to decide all matters "fairly" any more than a leftist male lawyer? The real question here is why are these people in court anyway? N.O.W. can at least say a woman cop arrested them. NOW, that's liberation???

--Terry Downs





## Reflections of a Shoplifter

After adjusting the strap on my purse for quick and easy entry, we stroll into the supermarket and glance around to see a security guard looking at us. No, just an inquisitive shopper. Nobody at the express check-out counter. Great, the coast is clear in the second aisle.

We proceed up and down the aisles until our cart is partially filled, placing selected expensive items strategically in the line of the aisle of groceries. In the second aisle, which is out of the line of sight of the cashiers and the two-way mirrors, a customer lingers indecisively in front of the liquid detergents. She seems to be absorbed in deep thought over the relative advantages of Lux and Dove. O.K., now's the time. I grab the first can of tuna and stuff it in my purse. I'm about to reach for the second one when my partner in crime places at me fiercely and whispers "No!" An employee has just come around the corner. Oh, my God, I've been caught! He walks past without looking at us and as soon as he's out of sight I go for the tuna again and deftly close my purse.

Now it's time to brave the checkout counter. While the cashier rings up the items in the cart I start to bag my own groceries to speed things up.

"Let me do it for you. You want it all in one bag?" I look up and—gasp!—it's the same clerk who passed us in the aisle. Did he notice the tuna? Visions of being led to the bank come for this question, halted off to the police station in handcuffs.

That's O.K., I can manage, thanks," He shrugs and turns to another customer. My stomach clenches through convulsions when I spot the burly man standing near the exit. Should I take the stuff back? No, too late. I'm caught. I'm caught! I'm caught! I'm caught! I can do about it. Maybe if I burst into tears and tell



## Terror in the Supermarket

I began to get sentimental about being 13 years old in Seattle, when I could hardly get inside a store before I'd find something I desperately wanted sticking to my fingers like frozen steel, with no choice but to help it into a pocket and stare drilling for the door. Then fear would take me by the nose, squeezing harder with every errand visit, and burning into pure elation the second my foot hit the street.

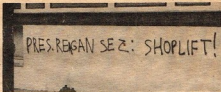
"Still, I persisted in such escapades as stealing everyone a Christmas present, and I could put them under the tree with the real sense of giving. Buying a present, I told myself, meant badging your love with money."

"The Ghost of Shopping Past," by Larry Farrel in Life Magazine (11-12-69).

There are important differences between the vignette above and Maxine Holt's. In "The Ghost of Shopping Past," there is the possibility of seeing shoplifting as sport. First there is a great deal of tension and anxiety then elation, for a game well played. That is the invigorating nature of a sport.

There is no arguing that the penalties can be worse than for losing a game of say, racquetball; only losing is the exception, not the rule. (Law enforcement and business interests admit only 1 out of 35 shoplifters are caught and that most of those who are caught are not prosecuted.) Even in France where Maxine says the penalties are greater than here, "the police and the courts, which would be literally overwhelmed by the kind of case, tend to advise leniency and to damp the stores' ardour for punishment." (Manchester Guardian, 6-1-80) What is on the law books is often either unenforced or unenforceable, particularly with large numbers of people ignoring the law.

The second difference expressed by the short piece is that the motivations for shoplifting do not have to be born out of any economic desperation, but rather that there is something wrong even portographic about budgeting love and life with money (or any exchange process). Whether or not someone articulates it, one's relationship with a store is always political. The Christian Science Monitor states that "supermarket traffic patterns are more carefully planned than that of an interstate highway" (12-5-80). They are planned to ensure that you part with your wallet readily. From the Video loop meant to interrupt "pure consumer boredom," to broadcasted inaudible subliminal messages telling us not to steal (and in some workspaces convincing us that we love our jobs) to the security guards and devices, to the whole exchange process which demands that most of us have to work and pay for the goods we desire, the store is in an adversary, that is to say, political relationship to us. Any act which violates that process is a political one and by its occurrence, exposes chains in the armor of a capitalist



them I'm an orphan they'll feel sorry for me and let me off easy. I can hardly believe it when we make it outside and around the corner without any further incident. Blessing my luck and cursing myself in the same breath for getting so worked up, I quickly put the incident out of my mind until the next shoplifting day.

As a regular shoplifter (with a high rate of success, I might add, having been caught twice in 10 years of practice) this describes a typical day at the market. Although it was somewhat satisfying to read about the many ways people manage to reduce their cost of living by stealing, I disagree with the meaning attributed to the "sport of millions" in the last issue of Work and Pay ("The Politics of Theft"). In the first place, it hardly offers the relaxation and invigorating exercise usually associated with "sport," much less is it an extension of the spirit of '68 in France. In the world of shoplifting, penalties are generally far more serious in France. Even in this country, in Indiana, two men were recently sent up to the state penitentiary for 5 years on a second count of shoplifting goods with a total value of no more than \$20.00!

I would even hesitate to refer to theft as a "free flow of goods." Hell, shoplifting is hard work, and I wouldn't recommend it to anyone with high blood pressure or bad nerves. The occupational hazards run pretty high. An article in San Francisco Perspective mentions several incidents of severe beatings of suspected shoplifters by Cala undercover security guards, resulting in partial facial paralysis in one case.



I myself wouldn't steal if I had the money to buy what I wanted.

The point is, of course, that I don't, because I'm unwilling or unable to sell the necessary amounts of my labor-power. In this sense, I agree fully with the spirit of "refusal to work" and the need to band together with the millions of other discontents to fight for a world where the work and pay routine has been abolished once and for all.

To be fair, the article "Politics of Theft" qualifies its phrase of theft. "It is not yet an activity which is consciously coordinated among the participants. Also its political content—the class struggle as a struggle against working and paying is not recognized."

But when, and to what extent, can theft be considered as a part of class struggle? Does the fact that it's "consciously coordinated" and "collective" guarantee any particular political content?

Some revolutionaries would argue that any direct action to recover goods or income from capital is part of the class struggle. The most consistent among this tendency, like Zerowork, go so far as to include bank robbery, since, as they point out, this is mostly done by working-class "amateurs." After all, armed robbery is "consciously coordinated" to some degree! (This ignores "organized crime" per se, which is simply illegal or semi-legal capitalist enterprise.)

My disagreement with the article is that, rather than consider the social context and consequences of various kinds of theft, it tends to attribute political significance to theft as an activity in itself. In my opinion, a more relevant way of discussing the political nature of theft is to ask: Does it weaken the ideological hold of the existing capitalist order? Does it provide an experience which encourages people's willingness and desire to participate in a movement capable of transforming society? To what extent does the experience help create a context for the self-organization and self-expression that is necessary to overcome the sense of powerlessness and isolation in people's lives?

Considered in this light, there is a big difference between common shoplifting as it occurs throughout the world on a daily basis, and the kinds of direct action that characterized the "autodirazione" movement in Italy in '77 and '78. The distinction is not only that the latter was collective, and consciously coordinated, but that it took place in the context of intense social warfare which severely disrupted the legitimacy of the Italian government's austerity program, and its supporters in the Italian Communist Party, the unions, and the universities.

We can also distinguish between bank robberies committed by gangs for whom theft is just their revenue solution to the need to make a living (a "job") and, for e.g., the armed robbery committed by roaming bands during the revolutionary upheavals in Germany in the 20's, who distributed proceeds among the local poor, or to groups of workers who were struggling against the state and military.

Sometimes, even individual theft (i.e., not collectively organized) can be a radicalizing experience. Consider the case of someone who has always morally objected to any kind of "crime," based on bourgeois notions of social justice. Driven to steal something out of desperation might force her to recognize the fundamental injustice and dishonesty upon which this society is based.

Naturally, the general framework of discussion suggested here leaves plenty of room for argument concerning the nature of specific types of crime. Obviously, we cannot always know whether or not an action has a radicalizing effect. This is particularly true in the U.S. today, where opposition to the basic structures of capitalist society is mostly implicit and subterranean. Sometimes the significance of events is not clear until well after they take place. Often, we lack the information to understand the meaning of people's actions.

The "Politics of Theft" actually takes about many different kinds of "refusal to pay" some of them less ambiguous than shoplifting (e.g., rate strikes). My objection is not so much that these are possible signs of rising discontent and disdain for the laws of private property. What bothers me is the way all sorts of varied activities are lumped together in the category of theft or "refusal to pay," in order to generalize about their inherent political significance.



Maxine's implication that it is primarily economic desperation or not having enough money in their pockets which motivates people is disarming. It is all the processes and institutions of this society which dominate us and provide the basis for domination. I'm not simply tired of not having enough money or having to work—I'm tired of the whole damned mess. With this said, there is no problem in agreeing with Maxine that we need to find ways to generalize out discontent."

"Shoplifting isn't simply a way to compensate for economic or emotional crisis, or to flatter hedonism, which sleeps in all of us. It should be interpreted above all as a manifestation of disrespect and aggression towards a monopolistic society which is felt to be inhuman, devoid of moral prestige, and whose anonymity relieves the shoplifter of all scruple or guilt. It's even possible to regard the phenomenon as an extension of the spirit of May '68 gone underground."

Frédéric in The Manchester Guardian (6-17, said how Le Monde (7-13-80) would if power

